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## THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

BY SIR WALTER BESANT.

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THE future of the English-speaking peoples is a subject which at this present moment seems of more than ordinary importance, because there are signs of very serious dangers which threaten that future, of possibilities which may most disastrously affect the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxon race. What it is that is now in the possession of that race either to administer wisely or to throw away; what a magnificent heritage it has obtained either to develop or to ruin; what power and empire and authority and greatness unequalled in the history of mankind it may achieve or may destroy; what it actually has and holds in the present: these are the things to which I propose to direct the attention of my readers.

The ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon race came from a cold, sterile, and ungenial tract of country in the midst of which now stands the very noble city of Hamburg. They came over in hordes; they settled down on the English coasts; whole districts of their native land were deserted; they came in tribes and in families; wherever they sat down they brought with them, as part of themselves, not to be changed, their laws and their customs and their language. These survived, and remain to this day in essentials the language, the laws, the customs, of their country. Observe, then, the first obvious facts about

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this people. In their own homes they become restless ; they cannot remain quiet in their own settlements ; they are impelled to change. They cross the water, carrying with them their language, their religion, their institutions. It is now acknowledged by all writers that they did not exterminate the Britons, who continued after the struggle was over to live among their conquerors. But the Saxons absorbed them: the conquerors took nothing from the Britons, whose religion (they were Christians), whose manners (they were highly civilized), whose laws (they were Roman), the Saxons trampled under foot. Not a vestige remains of the ancient British civilization. The masterful Anglo-Saxon would keep his own laws, his own customs, his own religion. When the Danes came the same thing happened. A few years after the struggle we find that the Danes are absorbed; everything is again English. When the Normans came the same thing is observed ; after a few years everything is once more English. All that the Normans imposed was the Feudal system, out of which the English have been gradually struggling for eight hundred years. The point which I wish the reader to remember is that, wherever he goes, the Anglo-Saxon carries with him a great load of personal property—laws, religion, manners, customs, and language—which he will not exchange or part with. Wherever he goes he is not absorbed—he absorbs. He continues to do this in the present day just as of old he absorbed, one after the other, Briton, Dane, and Norman. In England we are still perpetually absorbing this stream of foreign immigration which never ceases—German, Norwegian, French, Italian. The United States of America in the same way cover ground which has been Spanish, French, Dutch, and Swedish. What trace can you find of the Spanish occupation?—an ancient town. What trace do you find of the Dutch?—a few houses here and there which remind one of Amsterdam. Anglo-Saxon America is constantly engaged in absorbing. Immigrants by thousands pour every year upon the American shores from all quarters of the globe. They land : they scatter over the country: in a few years, like those who are American born, they bear the stamp of the English law and speak the English language.

We are, then, as we always have been, a masterful race ; we are a stiff-necked, unyielding race; a tenacious race ; we are a race which cannot change its own mind—as regards laws and

manners—for the mind of any other race ; we are a people which if it settles down anywhere, means to go on living as before and to make other people live in the same way.

These are very marked and very important qualities. Had any one observed these qualities when the Saxon ships first wintered on the Isle of Thanet, he might have prophesied a great and solid future for this people ; but no prophet at any time, I am convinced, would ever have prophesied a future so great, so solid, so glorious, as the race has achieved ; while as to what lies before it, although the possibilities are so clear that a child could read them, we have been somehow afraid of speaking out.

In the next place observe another racial mark. The Anglo-Saxons have always, like their ancestors, been a restless people. To sit down in the same place cultivating the soil for generation after generation has always been impossible for them. From time to time they want change ; they are always wanting change. During a thousand years and more they found that change in continual war. When one reads in history page after page of war—war—war—battle—victory—defeat—the slaughter of thousands, the towns given over to pillage, the burning farms, the starving children ; when, as one reads the very letters grow blood-red, and the very sunshine grows blood red ; and the very floor grows red with the blood of the killed and wounded, one must remember that the things which seem so terrible to us were not in the least terrible to them. They were only part of life. The people carried on war between themselves without ceasing ; the King of Northumbria fought the King of Mercia ; the King of Wessex carried war into the realm of the King of Kent ; it was not because the Mercians hated the Northumbrians—it was because of the instinct for change ; because the restlessness of the people made war necessary.

I maintain, therefore, that restlessness is as much a mark of the Anglo-Saxon as masterfulness and obstinacy. I think that the rebellions, the risings, the civil wars of English history were due more to restlessness in the blood than to loyalty to this cause or that. What was Wat Tyler's rebellion but an instinctive restless upheaval of the people ? They listened to leaders who formulated grievances, and held out hopes of wonderful things ; they rose all together seized by the strange contagion which sometimes

runs among people like wildfire ; they rejoiced, those rude and ignorant peasants, in freedom from labor and the prospect of fighting and of plunder. It was a brief but glorious holiday that they enjoyed. Those who escaped and got safely home had much to think about and much to tell. But their restlessness was subdued for the time. It seems to us, considering history, most wonderful that so many men were always ready to flock after this or that standard. How could they be persuaded to risk their lives ? Because they were restless ; the village life was monotonous ; the daily labor was wearisome. So, when the chance came, they seized a pike and marched with the column of shouting rustics—not in loyalty to the Red Rose or the White, but because they wanted a change.

There was another way in which they showed their restlessness. One cannot, unfortunately, be always fighting ; there must be intervals, sometimes long intervals, of peace. What, then, was the poor man to do when his eyes turned with yearning beyond the blue hills, and when his cottage and his fields became loathsome to him ; when, in short, the old restlessness got into his veins and he could no longer contain himself ? He could go on pilgrimage. That was the safety valve. When the restless fit grew so strong that it could not be repressed, the man begged a license of the bishop and with staff in hand set off on his pilgrimage. The roads were black with the multitudes of those who trudged or rode on pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham or St. Thomas of Canterbury. We must remember the dulness of the country life, where nothing happened but the change of seasons. We must remember, also, the animation and business of the highway along which the pilgrims walked ; the night spent in some monastic house, the gay and animated conversation of the company, the feasting and the music and the singing—what an exchange was that from the lonely cottage and the quiet farm !

The Anglo-Saxon race is thus, essentially and above all, a restless race. What has this restlessness done for the race in modern times ? Look at America ; look at India ; look at South Africa ; look at Australia ; look at New Zealand. They are monuments—I hope lasting monuments—to the Anglo-Saxon restlessness. Consider the history of the sixteenth century when that restlessness sent out ships by the hundred for the exploration of the American coast, and the capture of the Spanish ships ;

consider that of the next century when the American Colonies were founded ; consider that of the last century when, with the help of the Colonists, the English turned out the French from America ; and when, without any help, they turned them out of India. Consider the growth of English trade ; the despatch of ships to every port in the world ; the increase of English wealth by leaps and bounds even at a time when England was carrying on a death struggle in Continental war. What do all these things mean ? Enterprise ? Courage ? Tenacity ? Yes ; all these things ; and, what is more, the racial restlessness which cannot remain still or contented.

Every year there are carried away from the shores of Great Britain so many hundred thousand of our young men. They are the restless class : most of them have proved themselves totally unable to accept the conditions of modern life ; they hate the desk ; they hate books ; they cannot pass examinations. For these young men, who in other respects are often the very flower of the flock, there are places where they can live without books. Formerly there were openings for them in the United States, in Australia, in New Zealand. Those openings seem to be closed ; the stream of emigration turns in other directions. There is now, for instance, South Africa. Now, just exactly what England was formerly to the Angle or the Jute in the German court, so is such a new country as South Africa to his descendant of the present day—the land of enterprise, the land of wealth, the land of fighting, the land of possibilities. There are other places. British Columbia is not yet filled up ; Canada, Western Australia, Tasmania, could support a tenfold present population. That is not, however, the question. I want to point out the continuity of history. Things repeat themselves because we are the descendants of our ancestors. The Frisian came over and settled in England fifteen hundred years ago ; he made the place his own ; he imposed his laws, his customs, his religion, and told the Britons to become absorbed or to disappear. It is discovered that our young brother does just exactly the same thing. He is in America ; he is in Australia ; he must move on ; he must make for himself a new nest ; he must fight for it if necessary. And when he has settled, he must rule ; he will tolerate no master.

Now let us consider at the close of the nineteenth century what part of the world belongs to our race. We have the whole of North

America, an immense possession, glorious in the present, destined to become far more glorious in the future ; we have the whole of Australia ; the whole of India ; the whole of New Zealand ; we have rich and beautiful islands, such as Jamaica, Ceylon, Newfoundland, Mauritius, and hundreds of other islands ; we have Burmah, Singapore, and the settlements of the far East ; we have a vast extent of territory in Africa ; we have strongholds in the Mediterranean ; we occupy Egypt ; the whole round world is dotted here and covered there with the possessions of the Anglo-Saxon race ; all that is best, most temperate, most fertile, best fitted for the white man's permanent residence, is ours : if it were one United Federation of States it would be the greatest, the richest, the most powerful empire, republic or state that history has ever recorded.

The imagination cannot all at once take in the magnitude of the Anglo-Saxon possessions. We want help to assist us in understanding what our possessions really mean. Take the test of the language, for instance. If we add up all together the numbers of those who speak the European languages we should find that one-third of the whole number speak our language, while only one-eighth speak French, and only one-seventh speak German. For at this moment there are a hundred and twenty millions of people who speak English as their native tongue, without counting the Hindoos, who are fast acquiring it.

Take, again, the test of literature. Everybody now reads. Some, it is true, read only newspapers : most read books. There are free public libraries, which put all books worth reading into the hands of the people. Suppose that only one-half of the English-speaking race read books ; that means that a popular work, a work which appeals to the heart or to the head of the great public, can command sixty millions of readers, and in the immediate future will command double, and, presently, treble that number. Never before, in the history of the whole world, has literature commanded so enormous an audience ; never before has poet, dramatist, novelist, historian, preacher, had so magnificent a theatre, so crowded a house. We cannot realize such a theatre ; we can only in imagination see a vast theatre filled with white faces, listening faces, faces that are played upon by passing sunshine and flying cloud, as the speaker moves their hearts. Perhaps we may imagine something of this vast audience, if we

remember that it used to be thought much if a book was read by two or three thousand, and now we can talk of a book being read by sixty million.

It surprises, again, one who considers this present position of our race not so much that we have spread over so vast an area, and have multiplied ourselves so enormously, but that this has been done with such wonderful rapidity. In the sixteenth century, when the English-speaking race was just beginning to feel its way across the Atlantic, it did not number more than five millions. A hundred years ago, when England began her long war with France, her own population was no more than fifteen millions, while in America there were about five millions—twenty millions in all. Again, a hundred years ago there were in the whole of Australia no more than a few thousand convicts and guards; in New Zealand, Tasmania, and South Africa there were none. In fifty years we have seen these countries assume a population as a man puts on a cloak. We look one moment; there is the solitude of the forest, the lapping of the river on its shores, the cry of the wild beast. In twenty years' time there is a great city in the midst of a crowded colony. Nor are these ephemeral cities; they have come to stay; they stand in the centres of real and lasting trade; they increase every year as the country to which they belong grows richer and more populous. In America the States which a hundred years ago were the far West, belonging to the fierce and untameable Red Indian, are now central States, while the far West is the coast of the Pacific, and the Red Indian has almost disappeared; the prairies are broken up into farms; the woods are disappearing before the axe of the settler, and the States which thirty years ago were wild lands are now filling up with towns and villages and cultivated farms.

I have spoken of a hundred years ago: one may say fifty years ago.

It was then that a mysterious restlessness seized all of us at the same time. English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh in thousands sailed to Australia, to New Zealand, to Canada; some of them flocked to the United States. The young men of the States moved westward with one consent. The Irish seem more than any to have felt the impulse, and they sent half their people across the seas. We used to say that the Irish exodus was the result of the



potato famine. That was one cause, but not the greatest: it was restlessness that fired the blood of a people who had lived too long in peace and quiet. It is now, as it always has been with our race; from time to time we want something to work off the instinctive restlessness. Travel, emigration, the struggle with savage races, the many little wars which are always stirring our blood—these things take the place of those which formerly quieted our restless souls.

Mere emigration, however, will not account for this vast increase of the English-speaking population. Besides, the increase has gone on in England as well: we who a hundred years ago were fifteen millions are now forty millions. The increase has been brought about partly by the invasion of the foreign element which the Anglo-Saxon has made haste to absorb. Look at shop windows as you walk about certain parts of London; the foreign names occur continually—here are French, Dutch, German, Italian, and Norwegian names. Inside every house you would find an Englishman bearing that name. It is exactly the same in New York. The Anglo-Saxon has absorbed that man; in the second generation he is pure English or American.

There remains, however, the remarkable fact that in a hundred years the English-speaking race has leaped up from twenty millions to a hundred and twenty millions, and has extended its possessions by something like a fifth part of the habitable globe. It would be impossible to find any other example in history of an increase so rapid, and an extension of territory so vast.

This, then, is the present position of our race: we possess the finest and most desirable parts of the earth; we are more wealthy than all the rest of the world put together; we are connected together by a common ancestry; by a common history up to a certain point; by the same laws which we have inherited from our common ancestors; by the same speech; by the same religion, not speaking of sects; by the same literature; by the same customs, with minute differences; and by millions of close ties of blood relationship, even those of brothers, sisters, parents, and children. It would be difficult to find stronger bonds: they are such as nothing in the world can cut asunder. No fighting between ourselves, not centuries of warfare, not rivers of blood, can destroy these bonds. Nations which are so connected may have their quarrels, their wars, intensified by kinship into civil wars;

but they cannot cut asunder these bonds, which bind them more tightly than any treaty, or alliance, or covenanted bond of union.

Yet, to speak of the present union of the English-speaking race is ridiculous. What, then, about our disunion? Well, we form, theoretically, one great empire and one great republic. In point of population the two sections of our race are equal; but one section is split up and divided into many parts; the other is an undivided whole, which adds very greatly to its strength. Again, one section, itself the union of many sovereign States, is bound together by a central government representative of all those States. And it has free trade between all those States. The other section has a central government, but it is not representative of other component parts; each of these parts—each of these sovereign states—has its own government, and is practically independent and sovereign, though it is called a colony; there is no free trade among these states; but each has a tariff of her own to suit the supposed wants of her people. In other words, the tie which binds Great Britain and Ireland to Canada is so slight as to be little more than a sentiment; so with Australia. England derives no revenue from the colonies; yet it is understood that in case of war she must defend these colonies out of her own resources. And slight as is the connection of Great Britain with one of these states, their connection with each other is slighter still: there is hardly even a touch of sentiment, as yet discovered, in the regard of Australia for Canada.

The position, therefore, is this. On the one hand, there are the United States, really, not nominally, united—a compact extent of territory, with a constitution which makes it very unlikely, very difficult, for any questions to arise which will endanger that union, with a population equal to one-half the whole of our numbers; on the other hand, we have a so-called empire consisting of the British islands and the practically sovereign states of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, without speaking of the smaller and less important dependencies. The advantage, so far as to position and strength, would seem to be with America; at the same time this advantage is every year lessened, because population always increases faster in new than in old countries. If in fifty years' time the United States will have a hundred millions instead of sixty, Australia

will have twenty millions instead of four, South Africa ten millions instead of two, and so on. Let us remember that the continent of Australia will be able to support a population of two hundred millions, and that South Africa will support as many as are likely to demand its hospitality for a hundred years to come.

There are three things which separate states—difference of language, difference of religion, difference in form of government. With us there is no difference in language, nor is there, practically, any difference in religion. The vast majority of English-speaking people profess some form of the Protestant religion; those who do not, enjoy the most perfect freedom to follow their conscience. The third point, however, the difference in form of government, is serious.

I suppose that many have never realized the significance of the fact, or even the fact itself, that while all the states that have come out of Great Britain have had to create their own form of government, every one has become practically a republic. In every one of them exist all those institutions which are essentially republican—the recognition of every man's equal rights, the vote given to every man, representative government, no hereditary or privileged class, no established church, free education. The governor, who is the only officer sent out by the mother country, represents the President of the state, who is nominally the Queen of the colony; but as President he has very little power: all the power is in the hands of the people and their representatives. What does this mean? All these countries found themselves under the necessity of creating a form of government for themselves. Did they proceed to copy the form of the mother country? Not at all. Did they weigh the advantages against the disadvantages of monarchic or republican government? Not at all. Quietly, without any fuss or argument, without exciting any bad blood or party feeling, they proceeded, each state by itself, and without communication or conspiracy or mutual understanding, to create a new republic.

This is a very remarkable circumstance in the history of the English colonies: it is very significant that not one should have attempted to produce a copy of the British Constitution. Here, in England, we grow up contentedly with our King, Lords, Commons, and Church; many among us are prepared to defend our institutions *en bloc*; many more, who would not trouble to

defend things as they are, regard them as institutions which it would be disastrous to change on account of the bad blood which revolution would cause; others feel that our own institutions are more comfortable than those of a republic, because they require less personal effort on the part of the individual; very few of us at the present moment are really and actively revolutionary; yet, when these people go away and make a new country for themselves, not one has ever proposed that their new constitution shall be copied from the old.

We have thus seen the beginnings, the development, and the present position of the Anglo-Saxon race. There are six great countries, of which two are fully grown, and four, viz., Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, are practically only in their infancy. We are united by such bonds as I have mentioned; we are disunited, except for sentiment, only by differences in the form of government. As for the seas which roll between us, they are no longer an element of disunion; we are parted by two or three weeks; we pass over to each other without difficulty, almost without danger.

Let us now consider the possible future of our race. What will be the development of the British colonies, for instance, in the matter of government? Will they put off the republican, and assume the monarchical form? I cannot conceive such a change as even possible. I cannot understand that any republican, any man in whom personal equality is part of his very soul, not to be torn out except with his life, could ever desire the election of a king, whose very name means to him hereditary rule, hereditary privilege, hereditary superiority.

With every generation the republican ideas certainly become intensified; with every generation, then, these great colonies will become more and more separated from the mother country in feeling. There is one event, and only one, which would be able to convert a republic into a monarchy; that would be a life and death struggle, a disastrous war, a term of deep-seated national humiliation, when the country might take shelter under a dictator who might become emperor or king.

What, however, about England? Shall she change her forms in order to fall in line with the other Anglo-Saxon countries? In asking such a question I would not look for a reply to the books and papers and arguments of philosophers. 'We must

not ask what is philosophically considered best or fittest ; we must go straight to the people themselves, and ascertain in which direction their thoughts are tending, whether in the direction of change or in the direction of conservatism. How are we to find out what they think ? We must read the papers which they read ; we must listen to the orators and preachers who have found a way to make them listen, and have touched their hearts. When I was a boy I was curious about journals and papers of all sorts. I used to buy, especially, certain papers designed for the working classes. My earliest recollection of politics is that the Queen, the Church, the House of Lords, the capitalists, and all employers of labor were every week attacked with a venom and a virulence which exceeded everything that we could now show. All these institutions were to be pulled down—the day after to-morrow. Now, although such papers as these were exceptional and extreme, the smoke showed the existence of fire ; there was a great deal of loose, vague, fierce republicanism in the air ; not only working-men, but sober, educated, thinking men were asking whether the time was not come for a republic. The question was not whether a republic is or is not a better form of government than a limited monarchy, but whether the time was come for a republic—which begged the other question, and practically assumed that a republic is the better form. Now I do not suppose that the number of philosophers who would like a republic on abstract principles is less than it was, but I am quite sure that the number of people generally who ardently desire such a change of government in Great Britain is far less in proportion to the population, while the scurrilous and blackguard papers have, so far as I know, entirely disappeared. I lay great stress on this point, because there is, if we come to think of it, this very remarkable relation of the press to the people that one cannot say whether the press leads the people or whether the people leads the press.

Returning to possible changes in England, I think it may be assumed as a matter of general experience that the duty of preserving our institutions, with such modifications as may be necessary from time to time, is at this moment a fixed conviction with the great majority of the English people. Loyalty to the Crown, which has been cultivated, so to speak, by the long reign of a blameless sovereign, is deeper

and truer and established on stronger foundations than ever it has been before, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the Church is no longer reviled and hated by the people; even those who would deprive the Church of her national character regard her with respect, and as regards the House of Lords we hear very little now about the foolishness of believing in hereditary wisdom. The form of government under which the English people live is so firmly established, it rests on such solid foundations of the will, consent, and deliberate choice of the people, that it will not be removed or changed till something happens to change this will and consent. Nor do I think that there will be in the great colonies any approach to English ideas in this respect.

The colonies could not, in fact, adopt the British constitution. The English form of limited sovereignty has grown up slowly and gradually; the people have forgotten the long struggle of centuries by which they did limit at last the power of the Sovereign; the memory of that struggle has departed; it seems as if the thing grew without any struggle; within the memory of living men there has been no revival of the old struggle; it seems a natural thing that the Sovereign should not be able to command anything except the affection and the respect of her people.

If, however, the English government remains what it is, and the English colonies become more and more obstinately republican, there will most certainly exist a permanent cleavage between them, growing every year wider and wider. That is true, and it is a danger which can only be met in one way, which I will presently explain.

Apart from the form of government, what line of change awaits our race in the immediate future? The colonies will drop off one after the other, and become independent. Australia, which could not, as yet, defend herself against Japan, must, as she grows stronger, become independent. We shall then—say in fifty years—see six great English-speaking nations; every one will be more populous than France at the present day; filled with people who have absorbed all foreign admixtures; governed by the same laws; inheriting all the Anglo-Saxon qualities, virtues, and weaknesses.

The people of these nations will be unlike each other in peculiarities, due to climate; those of tropical Queensland, for instance, will differ in certain respects from the inhabitants of To-

ronto or Quebec. But in mind and in manners they will be all alike.

What will happen in a world which possesses six great nations all united by such bonds as we have already described ?

We stand already at the parting of the ways. By our actions, by our words, of this very time we may affect for good or for evil the whole future of our race.

There are two roads lying before us ; two roads well marked—visible for many miles ; one road as easy as the other. Which shall we take ?

The one road leads through wars, which must be civil wars for ferocity, for massacres, for prolonged rage, for the bitterness which lasts for generations ; for the evil example which leads to other wars ; for the ruin and the waste and the destruction of all that the Anglo-Saxon race was sent into the world to achieve. Here is an imaginary page of history : “ After the termination of the long and disastrous war between Great Britain and the United States, in which so many fleets were destroyed with practically all the trained sailors on both sides, and when both countries were exhausted, the Dominion of Canada declared war against the Australian Federation, and another sea war was commenced which lasted five years . . . ” and so on. “ Between one state and another there were commercial rivalries, protective and prohibitive tariffs ; the bitterness of old quarrels ; a constant readiness to rush into new quarrels ; the Anglo-Saxon race, of which so much had once been expected and prophesied, fell during these centuries into a family at enmity with itself ; always at war one with another,” and so on. Is this kind of thing possible ? It is more than possible ; it is quite probable. When brothers begin to fight, they never cease fighting ; they can never be reconciled ; and each battle only makes the former hatred worse. Therefore, for these English-speaking nations we must make war impossible ; and since at present four of these nations have not yet become independent, we must make war impossible between the two which represent them all. The late scare, from which we are not yet quite free, has shown us some of the dangers that lie in our way ; one word more of arrogance or insolence from one side or the other, and we should have been plunged into such a war as would serve for an example for these younger nations ; nay, they would themselves have been dragged

into the struggle, and so the seeds of hatred would have been sown in their hearts, too, to bear harvest in the years to come.

We must make it impossible for any war at any time to happen between these nations. How can we do this? It will not be sufficient to trust to the good sense, the moderation, the wisdom of leaders and ministers. All the wisdom in the world will not avail against personal ambition.

There is another danger. We talked at the outset of the restlessness of our race. This restlessness in modern life is generally cured by travel, by the struggle for wealth, by intellectual effort; but there is a great mass of the people who do not travel, are not engrossed in work, do not work with the brain. The danger of a simultaneous movement, an unanimous cry for war, such a rush as that of Wat Tyler's men, is one ever present and much greater in a republic than in a monarchy. We must guard against the ambition of statesmen and against the madness of the people. For my own part I can see no way open to us except a Court of Arbitration, before which all cases of difference shall be brought. The mere existence of such a Board will prevent cases from arising, while the knowledge that there can never be war between the two nations will at once alter the tone of the press in every Anglo-Saxon country to that of permanent alliance.

Now suppose such a Board of Arbitration to be established. What do we see in the future? The six nations will be separate, yet united; each will be free to work out its own development in its own way; it will be impossible for them to quarrel; they will understand that free trade between themselves will be the best in their own interests; their press will be courteous, each to each; they will be rivals only in art, science, and literature. Above all, they will form a firm alliance, offensive and defensive, with such a navy that all the world united in arms would be powerless against them. And, as an example for all the world to see, there will be the great federation of our race, an immense federation, free, law-abiding, peaceful, yet ready to fight; tenacious of old customs; dwelling continually with the same ideas; keeping, as their ancestors from Friesland did before them, each family as the unit; every home the centre of the earth; every township of a dozen men the centre of the government.

WALTER BESANT.